11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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192 (*hog's hindquarters*); ho·kIt̄ihkapI̱ *pork, bacon, ham* (*hog food*); wita·rohkni?e·tI̱ *threshing-machine* (*wheat thresher*).

197 Since the earliest contacts of the Co-
192 manche with White culture were with the Spanish we may assume that the first loanwords were Spanish. The exact period of their introduction is impossible to determine. It seems likely, however, that this was largely accomplished by the middle of the nineteenth century. Catlin[108] in the 1830s noted the presence of Comanche who spoke some Spanish and by this date hundreds of Spanish-speaking captives had already been adopted into the tribe. Also, the vocabulary collected by Detrich in 1895 includes 12 of the 18 Spanish loans listed in this paper and no English loanwords. It must be mentioned, too, that any or all of the remaining six Spanish loans may also have been in the language by this date since Detrich's vocabulary is by no means complete. At the present time new words from English are constantly filtering into the Comanche vocabulary while the influence of Spanish has waned, although Spanish-speaking descendants of captives are still listed on the tribal rolls.

[191] [563] [563]

Alternative forms, either English loanwords or descriptive terms, are in a few cases in more common use than the Spanish loanwords and are perhaps replacing them: ho·kI is more common for pig or bacon than the Spanish loan, po?ro?, the descriptive term, munua? *nose mover*, or muvipo?ro. The descriptive term for spoon, tie?awo? *little cup*, is more common than kucára?. But even where there are synonyms, as with the words for knife, mule, bread, and wheat, the Spanish loanwords are the ones most commonly used and are firmly established in the language. Nine of the Spanish loans, however, are unique terms. It is interesting to note that there are but few

[113] [108] George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians, 2 vols., Vol. 2, p. 56 (London, 1841).

[p. 232-8]

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191 found among the 2400 or so Comanche, and there is a complete inversion as one descends through the generations as to which
191 is other and which mother tongue. Most old
561 people over 60 speak little or no English, while most young people under 30 speak little or no Comanche. Grandchild and grandparent, as among immigrant groups in this country, often have real difficulty in communicating and the breach between generations who know different ways of life is thereby widened. Although most Comanche between the ages of 30 and 60 are bilingual, the number who are equally fluent in both English and Comanche is relatively small. They are mainly men and a few women between the ages of 40 and 55; the generation that stands midway between the old culture and the new. A few
191 Comanche descendants of Mexican captives
563 speak Spanish in addition to English and Comanche.

121 The degree of fluency in English of any
[191] individual Comanche provides what is probably a fairly reliable index of his relative acculturation to American culture patterns. This is perhaps best measured, not by some formalized test of his knowledge of English, but rather by observing his choice of language and his command of it in various speech situations ranging from the intimacy of a family or other primary group, on the one hand, to casual associations in religious, economic or administrative contexts on the other.[138a] Or the problem might be reversed and the Comanche spoken by younger individuals in various social contexts could be observed. Such observations when correlated with variables of personality and status would be of con-

[177]

(113) [138a] See Felika Gross, Language and Value Changes among the Arapaho, IJAL 17.10-17 (1951); George Barker, Social Functions of Language in a Mexican-American Community, Acta Americana 5.185-202 (1947); and especially Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems (New York, 1953); Einar Haugen's definitive two volume study, The Norwegian Language in America (Philadelphia, 1953).

[p. 241-A]

SSI ?ahá·?, is also called ?e?há·wi?, a meaningless word.

SSI White surnames liberally sprinkle the
S63 Comanche list, but wherever these are found there is usually some degree of White blood.
[162] In addition there are 243 persons listed as having Mexican or Mexican and White
[641] ancestry. As descendants of captives these persons have legal status as Comanche.
SSI Among the Mexican names represented are: Cerday, Carpio, Farralla, Gonzales, Luna, Martinez, Madrano, Portillo, Rivaz, Robbles, Senoya, Terasaz (from the Comanche pronunciation of the Christian name Teresa, tirasas), Trevino, Viadurri, Vidana, and Villavana.

[563] A great many mixed-bloods carry the name of a forebear who has married into the tribe. Among these names are Smith, Jones, Brown, Glover, Cooper, Chandler, McCarthy, McArthur, Kelley, Le Barre, La Sawyer, Fisher, Dietrich, Risener,
[563] Shoemate, Chisholm, and Fawbush. Quanah Parker, the famous Comanche chief, was the daughter of a White captive, Cynthia Parker. Surprisingly few full-blooded Comanche, however, bear White surnames. The total number does not exceed 20, and they are all younger persons. Some of these names are: Pauline Smith, Perry Lonesome Heath, Roderick Youngman, Joseph Kelly, Darrell Bread, Frank David Bull, Bonnie Louise Plumlee, Pasquerita Pratt, Erwin Lee Cude, and Edith Marlene Johnson. In a few instances the surnames are those of second, White husbands. It must also be noted that several of these names, such as Youngman, Bread, or Bull, could also be English translations of Comanche names.

Mispronunciations and misunderstandings, working in both directions, have led to many curious entries on the tribal rolls. In many cases the agency spelling has obscured the meaning of the Comanche name, or at any rate, has made it ambiguous. White pronunciations have tended to become accepted by the Comanche themselves, especially the younger people, and this is still

/page 32 continued/

C K 484 Within a small peyote group will exist enormous differences in distance to be travelled. Two cars in a family will frequently distort the picture. The occupation of an individual will to a great extent determine the amount of travel time available regardless of the amount of interest in visiting, peyote, or pan-Indian affairs in general. Also, individuals who must commute long distances to a steady job will rack up high speedometer readings without spending much time visiting, etc. In fact, I have even observed some Comanches with widely dispersed kin and friends spending more time visiting than many Kiowas whole families live within a two mile radius. In spite of this, I still feel that the travel pattern of the Comanches and Kiowa is considerably different from that of the neighboring whites Just how it can be measured or accurately described, however, I do not know..

C K 601 829 177 602 Turning now to the kinship organization, it is safe to say that the same complexity due to individual variations is to be found. Moreover, the attitudes toward change color the data given by informants. In this way the father of a family that has kept its kinship patterns (relatively speaking) may be convinced that the old system has disappeared entirely. The converse may also be the case.

C K [563] [191] The concept of the ideal pattern has been preserved by all the /33/ older people I have met, Kiowa, Comanche; mixed bloods, Christians and Peyotists. The pattern does not seem to be directly affected by inte-marriages except insofar as the mixed marriage may change the dominant language of the family. The actual behavior

C K 601 177 602 [167] [582] [588] [684] patterns are changing in many respects. One of the chief factors is the small size of the tribe (Comanche in this instance) which has forced marriages to occur within the exogamous group to an extent. Strictly tabu marriage have occurred both among the Kiowas and Comanches but these are still recognized as wrong and the participants are stigmatized. The sanctions are not as sever as the traditional ones, however.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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One afternoon in the late 1930s I drove into the little town of Faxon on business for a client. When I got out of the car, I was face to face with Charley Ross. It had been long since I had talked with him, and my happiness at meeting him appeared to be matched by his at seeing me. For a Plains Indian he was truly an old man—somewhere in his seventies. We sat down on the running board of the car, and dusk found us still sitting there. I had forgotten I had a client, and Charley had forgotten that the daughter with whom he lived would be worried about his being out in the raw, chilly evening air.

I had it in mind to ask him many questions about himself, other questions about old Comanche friends of whom I had lost track, and yet other questions about Comanches in general. But he too had questions, and insistent ones. He knew I had become a lawyer, of course, but mostly he wanted to know about my children—for what place in life they had fitted themselves.

When he learned that my oldest son was already a lawyer and the younger son was preparing for law school, he grinned with pleasure. My father was the first magistrate appointed after the opening, and his jurisdiction had stretched for twenty or more miles in any direction. To Charley that meant Dad had been learned in the law. Then I had followed in the law profession, and now two sons were following me. To Charley, this progression was wonderful.

He was equally pleased to match up my daughters with his. My oldest was on the faculty of a small college, and the younger was teaching in a high school. Both his daughters were teachers and had married teachers.

Another Carlisle product who launched himself into the white man's life stream and kept himself afloat was one of Quanah Parker's sons. But then, he had a motive. He was in love.

Chief Quanah Parker's house was about three miles from the little town of Cache, Oklahoma. Some Texas cattlemen had settled him in a kind of apartment house just south of the Wichita Mountains, where West Cache Creek breaks out into the prairie. He was recognized by the government as chief of the Comanches. Like all the older Indians married to more than one wife, he had been allowed to keep his four or five remaining wives. One son was a Methodist minister, one daughter was married to a minister, and two other daughters married well-to-do white men.

The father of the Carlisle son's sweetheart had been a missionary

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584 to the Comanches. The girl told young Parker that if it was his intention to live around Cache, become another Carlisle loafer, and bask in the reflection of his father's glory, she wasn't interested. But if he was willing to go away and live where people had never heard of the Comanches or of Quanah Parker, she would marry him.

Quanah's son agreed to leave Oklahoma, and they married and moved to Florida. The one thing young Parker could think of that 472 he would have the nerve to try was driving a baggage wagon. So they bought a team and a light dray, and he began hauling baggage and making light deliveries. He made a living from the start, and in time built a first-class transfer business.

177 But Charley Ross and Quanah Parker's son were exceptions. As a lawyer in Oklahoma City I saw a number of pitiable incidents in the 609 courts, in which Indians who couldn't catch hold of the new life were testifying through an interpreter. I know they had been sent to government schools, but they preferred to pretend they didn't know English, rather than to accept the responsibilities of their training. They wished to be thought of as belonging to an older generation that had been denied advantages.

562 The educated young women, too, fell into the dull, dawdling existence led by their men, although I did know two girls, just out of [563] school, who married industrious white men and became hard-working 842 wives, and whose unions prospered financially. (Comanche wives, by the way, seldom bore more than two children, and often only one. But mixed marriages, particularly those of a white man and a Comanche woman, produced fruitfully.)

191 One episode illustrates the attitude of most of the educated women. 124 We had been operating the store several months, and I was proud of my good trade vocabulary. I knew the Comanche name for almost everything in the store that might interest the Indians, and I know their names and designations of money. One day, however, I was neither making myself understood by a very old squaw nor understanding what she was trying to tell me.

The ancient one's patience wore thin, and I am sure the line of chatter flowing from her withered lips in a stream was not complimentary to either my intelligence or my ancestry. Then I was suddenly rescued by a pleasant-faced, nice-mannered young Comanche woman on whom I had waited many times. "She wants coffee," she told me in perfect English.

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choose to live on their allotment, the department will fence it and build them a little house. Every six months they will have their Grass Money for living expenses, and they can also lease out their allotment to a white man to farm.

Now Quanah had a question: "How is the Indian to tell which wife to keep and which is surplus?"

"That's easy," the department's spokesman answered. "Keep the one you love the best, the one you have had the longest, maybe the one that has borne you the most children, perhaps the prettiest one, or even the youngest and strongest. Since you can have but one, select the one you want to keep, and tell the rest to go."

It is always well to remember that the Comanches considered themselves as "The People" and were never awed in any company. In addition Chief Parker was proud of the fact that his white mother came from one of the first families of Texas, and I doubt that he ever felt inferior to any man. His reply not only shocked the government men, but sent them scurrying around for another answer to the question.

I think Quanah Parker's answer reached an all-time high in negotiating: "I have had a number of wives. Sometimes a wife dies and I take another to replace her. Once I had seven wives, but now I have only five. Each of my wives I have for a different length of time. Some I have for a very long time. Some for a very short time. I love all my wives equally. I could not call my wives together and tell them, 'Now that the white man is coming, his law says that I can keep but one wife.

" 'White man says I should keep the one that I love best. The rest are surplus and must go and live somewhere else. So this is the woman I love the best, and the rest of you are surplus. You must go and live elsewhere.' This I cannot do. You come to my house. You pick out a wife for me to keep. Then you tell 'em."

This ended the idea of telling Comanche wives that any of them were surplus. There is little doubt that any negotiator suggesting to any Comanche wife that she was surplus would have lived only as long as it took the squaw to cover the distance between them and to use her butcher knife. Nor would the three troops of cavalry stationed at Fort Sill have made any headway in quelling the squaw uprising.

Once Quanah Parker convinced the Indian Department officials that it would be impossible to handle the multiple wife situation as

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slough and at some distance from the arbor. Brooms made from the native broom weeds tied tightly to a stick handle, brush end down, were used to sweep the arbor and cooking area scrupulously clean; and there were surprisingly few flies around the arbor. Generally shade was available, and the eating was done under the trees, away from the arbor. Wood, of course, was the fuel for the campfire.

When the time came for the really bad weather of fall, tents were pitched. Some families still had tepee poles and canvas covering for them. The buffalo-hide coverings had been gone for a long time when I arrived on the scene. The tents and tepees, together with the house, supplied the shelter needed in truly bad weather.

I have been in and around camps many times, and on occasion have even found it necessary to stay for the night. I watched the division of labor, seeking to find a clue as to who bossed whom. I never arrived at any satisfactory answers. Apparently the husband kept hands off, and the cooking area may have been out of bounds for him. At least, he stayed clear until the call for food. I never saw any of the women seek advice from the husband while the preparation of the meal was in progress.

There were exceptions, but at the home camp the husband usually corralled the horses and roped the ones to be used. Generally one of the women would come and help him harness or saddle up. Apparently the same wife helped with the horses each time. I was never aware of an order being given. When a family was in camp on the reservation for its Grass Money, the husband ordinarily cared for the horses.

At the home camp, one or two of the squaws would take a team and the wagon into the woods for the camp's wood supply. The squaws selected the down timber and chopped it into small enough pieces so that they could load it on the wagon to be hauled to camp. In one family group, this task was permanently assigned to a wife who had been so indiscreet as to give birth to a white baby. (The displeasure was not, however, visited upon the child. Not only was it treated just the same as the other children, but at times I was inclined to think it was actually the husband's favorite.)

I never saw anything to indicate that the first or oldest wife was necessarily the favorite one, nor was I able to tell which one of the women established the division of labor. A more trained observer than I might have secured more accurate information. In any event, of these things I am sure: there was a division of labor, and each wife